

## INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

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on the republic

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## ACROSS THE BORDER

# PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

No. 1,298

London, May 12, 1961

SIXPENCE

US Air Express  
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The military are short of answers

# NATO IS IN TROUBLE

"HAVING failed to settle their policy on the major military issues facing the North Atlantic alliance, the Americans have proposed that the Foreign Ministers meeting in Oslo this week should concentrate on world-wide political issues. This has been generally agreed."

With these words *The Guardian's* Defence correspondent, Leonard Beaton, started his opening report from Oslo on the NATO meeting there.

How short the military are of answers has just been shown by a new pamphlet published by the British Atlantic Committee. Entitled *Nuclear Disarmament*, it seeks to refute the case of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament by setting out "questions and answers for those who want the facts."

The British Atlantic Committee is a non-party body that aims to create public opinion in favour of NATO. A former Cabinet Minister is president, and among







## Whitsun at the Holy Loch

A GROUP of sponsors of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War have sent a special message to *Peace News* calling attention to the American Polaris Base at the Holy Loch, Scotland. The sponsors: John Braine, Ernie Roberts, Spike Milligan, Herbert Read, John Osborne, Constance Cummings, Michael Scott, John Berger, Alex Comfort, Horace Alexander and Hugh Brock, say in their message:

**"...in view of the reaction of the American Government to previous demonstrations against Polaris, it seems the removal of the base from the Holy Loch may be a realisable goal..."**

The message then goes on to urge readers of *Peace News* to take part in the demonstration and to support the project the Direct Action Committee have organised for Whitsun by sending money to the Committee at 344, Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4.

A special train has been arranged to leave Euston Station on Friday, May 19, at 9.10 p.m. and two coaches from Midland

Road, St. Pancras, N.W.1, at 8.30 p.m. on the same evening. Wendy Butlin, who has been in charge of the organisation in the London office (STA 7062) asks supporters to contact her and book seats on these coaches or train.

Regions of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have made arrangements to transport supporters to Scotland for the demonstration. The London Regional Council are co-operating with Barking CND and the coach bookings are being handled by Ann Lincoln at TERNminus 0284. Convoys of miscellaneous vehicles are leaving from Hampstead and from Nottingham. Coach transport has been arranged by Yorkshire, Manchester, Tyneside and Liverpool regions of the Campaign.

The Scottish Council CND have organised a supporting march and a meeting and arrangements are being made by the Secretary at Community House, 214, Clyde Street, Glasgow, C.1.

A group of supporters unable to travel

● ON BACK PAGE

## 'STAY AT HOME!'

WE call upon all organisations and the trade union movement to organise acts of solidarity for the people of South Africa on May 31, the day on which their country ceases to be a member of the Commonwealth," says a statement issued last week from the London office of the South Africa United Front.

In South Africa, the editorial board of *Contact*, the inter-racial fortnightly, call for full support for a nation-wide peaceful "stay-at-home" demonstration being organised on the day.

"All who love freedom, all who love South Africa," says the paper edited by Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor-General, "all who wish to remove the leprosy of apartheid, all must hear the call when it comes at the end of May, must obey it and must stay at home."

In Cape Town 8,000 cheering coloured people gathered on the Grand Parade on April 6 to declare their support for May 31.

Defence correspondent, Leonard Beaton, started his opening report from Oslo on the NATO meeting there.

How short the military are of answers has just been shown by a new pamphlet published by the British Atlantic Committee. Entitled *Nuclear Disarmament*, it seeks to refute the case of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament by setting out "questions and answers for those who want the facts."

The British Atlantic Committee is a non-party body that aims to create public opinion in favour of NATO. A former Cabinet Minister is president, and among the vice-presidents is Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas, an Opposition Front Bench spokesman.

The quality of the "facts" in the pamphlet can be judged from extracts:

*Q. What about this business of inspection and control? Isn't it just delaying action on disarmament? We've been at it for years and all we have got is the arms race, which always leads to war.*

**'Quite untrue'**

*A. That is quite untrue. I know of no war in history caused by an arms race. What does lead to war is when one side arms and the other does not...*

Among other answers in the pamphlet is one explaining why Christians should be in favour of H-bombs. This is the only policy, says the pamphlet, which can protect "the spiritual values upheld by all the churches in the world." Any other policy would not result in "God's will."

On accidents the dialogue is equally revealing:

*Q. Might not these weapons be let off by accident—someone making a mistake—being too quick on the trigger? I hear we would only get a few minutes' warning of a missile attack.*

*A. It is conceivable, though unlikely. Anyway, surely that would happen only in a crisis when we should be alerted. Our bombers can get off the ground in even fewer minutes...*

So if an accident kills us, it'll be no accident that "the enemy" are wiped out as well.

This pamphlet is a matter for congratulation. It shows that the Campaign has posed a threat which can no longer be left safely to the Right wing of the Labour Party to meet. And it allows us to study the military arguments against CND. They read curiously like 1984.



## CLASSIFIED

**TERMS:** Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address Box No. replies: Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1. Please send advertisements by first post Monday.

### MEETINGS

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**BULGARIA'S DAY OF CULTURE** celebration: Saturday, May 27, at 7 p.m., Philbeach Hall (Earls Ct. Stn.). British-Bulgarian music, songs, dances. Artists: Nellie and Levcho Zdravchev, Esther Salaman, Gladys Ritchie, A. L. Lloyd, Heinz Bernard. SFB Dance Group. Tkt.: 2s. 6d. Sec.: SFB, 42 Tavistock Street, W.C.2.

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**MEET INTERESTING PEOPLE** through informal hospitality of the Marriage Club. Both London and country members invited. Mrs. Prue White, 14 Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3.

**PACIFIST FORTNIGHT CAMPAIGN.** Brighton Group. Helpers and contributions urgently needed. Contact: Helene Roth, 17 Melville Rd., Hove 2.

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**PIONEERS WANTED** for Peace Education Centre. Long or short stays. Part-time work available in summer. Details: Director, Langthwaite House, Lancaster.

# South Africa prepares for May 31



## Stop sending arms now

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman of the

Movement for Colonial Freedom

**THREE** weeks from now the Union of South Africa will no longer be in the Commonwealth. The signs are that the end will come in further violence and bloodshed.

Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Liberal Europeans are planning demonstrations for May 31, when the Union becomes a Republic, claiming democratic rights and race equality. The Government has shown its intention to crush them. Leaders have already been rounded up.

The picture is black, yet I have confidence that *apartheid* will disappear from South Africa much sooner than most people expect. I base this view on the ever growing strength of the resistance; the pressure of world opinion and action; and the weakening of the Whites.

Sometimes British people put all the blame for *apartheid* on the Afrikaans, the Whites of Dutch origin. This is not fair. The British Whites in South Africa, except the Progressive and Liberal minorities, have advocated and practised race discrimination, and the Opposition (United Party) in the Legislature, which they dominate, has been unwilling that the Africans should be enfranchised. Last week's census gives the Africans nearly eleven millions in contrast with less than four million Europeans.

### Wind of change

Now, however, the wind of change is blowing over South Africa. On May the First (an appropriate day) Sir Villiers de Graaf, the United Party leader, declared for direct representation of the Coloureds (mixed race); a "defined political status" (it is unclear what this means) for the Indians; African representation on a separate roll; and the entry of non-Whites to

The most evident illustration of this affected United Kingdom representation in South Africa. At present we have a High Commissioner, who is responsible also for the administration of the three British Protectorates in South Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. Now that South Africa is leaving the Commonwealth, the normal practice would be for the High Commissioner to be replaced by an Ambassador. But the Government declined to give us any pledge that this will be done. Indeed, we were told that the United Kingdom representative will probably continue to be responsible to the Commonwealth Relations Office rather than to the Foreign Office. This would make South Africa's non-membership of the Commonwealth quite unreal.

I was glad to see the Labour Party moving an amendment to the Bill that, whatever other arrangements are continued with South Africa (they are to be negotiated during twelve months), the British Defence Treaties should be ended at once.

Measures have recently been announced in South Africa to strengthen the Union's military forces. These have been justified because of the danger, not of world war, but of internal disorders within South Africa and the somewhat remote possibility that there may be African invasions from the North in sympathy with an African rebellion.

It would be intolerable if British troops or arms were made available to South Africa in these circumstances. Yet the Minister of Defence told the South African Parliament last week that it is not intended to cancel the affiliation of the Citizen Force, mobilised to crush internal revolts,

admiration for the many Whites who are so courageously standing for race equality, and that our concern is for the vast majority of people in the Union who are the daily victims of the humiliations of *apartheid*.

We look forward to the day when South Africa will rejoin the Commonwealth on the basis of equality of all races, but experience has already shown that this will be hastened not by attempting to appease the Union Government, not by lessening the effects of non-membership of the Commonwealth, but by making clear in practice our deep moral repugnance to *apartheid* and our determination not to be associated with its imposition in any shape or form.

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## DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

### Friday, May 12

**BRISTOL:** 7.30 p.m. Horfield Friends' Mtg., 300 Gloucester Rd. Pacifist Fortnight Campaign, plans and brief AGM report. PPU.

**DALKEITH:** 9.30 a.m. London-Holy Loch Protest Marchers leave for East Meadows, Edinburgh.

**EDINBURGH:** 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Tollcross. Mass Meeting and Music: Rev. Ralph Morton, Geoffrey Carnall. Roy Guest, Jeannie Robertson and Edinburgh University Folk-singers. Tickets 1s. from Mrs. H. Pool, 41 Craiglockhart Loan. (CRA 1162.) CND.

### Saturday, May 13

**ECCLES, Lancs:** 3-6 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Half Edge La. PFC Bring and Buy Sale. Proceeds in aid of Campaign Funds. Refreshments. PPU.

**GRANGE-OVER-SANDS:** 3 p.m. Parish Hall, Kent's Bank Rd., "Experiences in Two Wars"; Mrs. W. Parsons, O.B.E. Grange Peace Group.

**LONDON, W.1:** 3 p.m. Wigmore Hall, Wigmore St. Recital by Wilfred Brown (Tenor) and John Williams (Guitar). Tickets may be obtained from Christian Action, 2 Amen Crt., E.C.4. (WELbeck 2141.)

### Sunday, May 14

**LONDON, N.1:** 3.30 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship. Discourse: Arlo Tatum, "Impressions of Hinduism."

**LIVERPOOL:** 8 p.m. 3A Courtney Rd., Waterloo. May Roberts: AGM Report. Crosby PPU.

### Monday, May 15

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. "Steps to Peace? World Peace Brigade" Arlo Tatum. Refreshments 6 o'clock. Central London PPU.

### Tuesday, May 16

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 3 p.m. 61A Fellows Rd. (H.



Raynolds Road, S.W.11.  
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**URGENT.**—Voluntary helpers required at Peace News office, Wednesday evenings and Thursday mornings, for packing and despatch of paper. 5, Caledonian Road, King's Cross, London, N.1.

**THE WORLD LEAGUE AGAINST VIOLENCE** and for the Protection of Animals opposes all cruelty and violence. Details from: 5 North View, S.W.19.

**WANTED.** Seat car going Holy Loch Demonstration. Whitsun. Share expenses. Mrs. Harbron, 'Syston', Roseland Gardens, Highfield, Southampton.

**WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL** welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

#### LITERATURE

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**CONTACT**—a South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 8s. 9d., 12 months 17s. Box 1979, Cape Town, South Africa.

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## Wind of change

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This is still far from race equality and democracy, but it represents a considerable retreat from previous attitudes. On the same day, when the Archbishop of Cape Town arrived in London, he declared that the rank and file of Europeans think the days of *apartheid* are numbered.

There is little doubt that the exclusion of the Union from the Commonwealth has influenced this changing view, particularly among the Whites of British origin. The danger is that in practice the Government at Westminster (under the pressure of Tory back-benchers) will cushion the effects of South Africa's departure so that the Whites will come to feel that it makes little difference. If this happens they will be less concerned to change *apartheid*.

## Imperial preference

Dr. Diederichs, South Africa's Minister for Economic Affairs, for example, says that imperial preference between the members of the Commonwealth and South Africa will remain as before. This strengthens an impression which grew during the recent debate in the British Parliament on the South Africa Bill that the intention is not to treat South Africa as of foreign status, but to continue a privileged relationship with her which will maintain many of the advantages of her previous Commonwealth relationship.

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South Africa. These have been justified because of the danger, not of world war, but of internal disorders within South Africa and the somewhat remote possibility that there may be African invasions from the North in sympathy with an African rebellion.

It would be intolerable if British troops or arms were made available to South Africa in these circumstances. Yet the Minister of Defence told the South African Parliament last week that it is not intended to cancel the affiliation of the Citizen Force, mobilised to crush internal revolts, with the British Army units in South Africa.

## Danger

One hopes that "the wind of change" in South Africa will proceed sufficiently to avoid physical revolts, but the danger is close that at the time of the inauguration of the Republic this month clashes will occur. I am not suggesting that British troops will be used, but South African troops have been trained in Britain, and during the disturbances which followed Sharpeville and in Pondoland British-made Saracen tanks were used. Britain should immediately end all her joint Defence arrangements with South Africa and no arms should be supplied to the Union Government.

I would hope that it is unnecessary to say that when we urge that the break with South Africa should be made real we are not moved by animosity to the South African people; but our speeches in Parliament were interpreted as meaning that. So let me state clearly that we understand the historic causes which have led to the present tragedy in South Africa, that we have a profound

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#### Tuesday, May 16

**LONDON, N.W.3:** 8 p.m. 61A Fellows Rd. 'H-Bombs are Against the Law'; Jack Gaster. CND.

#### Wednesday, May 17

**LONDON, N.9:** 8 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Lower Fore St., Frank Dawtry: "Non-Violence and Crime." Group AGM. Edmonton PPU.

**LIVERPOOL:** 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Hunter St., PPU AGM Report by May Roberts. Central PPU.

#### Thursday, May 18

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Muriel Sorensen: "My work as a J.P." E.10, E.11 PPU.

**NEW YORK:** 8.30 p.m. Woodstock Hotel, 127 W.43rd St., "Ahinsa—The Basis for Unilateral Disarmament"; H. Jay and Freya Dinshah. American Vegan Society.

#### Friday, May 19

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-2 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Lunch-time Talk: "Impressions of Israel"; Dr. James Henderson. SoF.

#### Saturday, May 20

**ABERYSTWYTH:** 1.30-4.30 p.m. Park Ave., March to Castle Grounds for All-Wales Rally (King's Hall if wet). Michael Scott, Mervyn Jones, Tudor Watkins, M.P. Accommodation enquiries: Dr. Mansel Davies, 12 Stanley Rd., Aberystwyth. CND.

#### Sunday, May 21

**DUNOON:** 1 p.m. Dunoon Pier, leave 1.30 p.m. for Sandbank. Scottish CND Support March for the London-Holy Loch protest marchers.

**SANDBANK:** 2.30 p.m. War Memorial for SCND Mass Meeting. Hear the case for Nuclear Disarmament.

#### Saturday, May 27

**LONDON, S.W.4:** 3 p.m. Lecture Hall, Clapham Bath, Clapham Manor St. (Nr. Clapham North Tube). Max Parker (FoR): "International Peace—The Christian Pacifist Contribution." Adm. free. Christian Socialist Movement.

#### Tuesday, May 30

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

## Every week!

#### SATURDAYS

**LONDON, W.11:** Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Forchester PPU.

#### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

#### THURSDAYS

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.



# SCOTS KIRK MINISTERS ON MORALITY AND THE H-BOMB

A CONFERENCE of ministers of the Church of Scotland on the issues involved in unilateral nuclear disarmament was held in Community House, Glasgow, on April 24. This conference followed the despatch of a statement on unilateral nuclear disarmament to all ministers of the Kirk. The statement had already been signed by over one hundred ministers.

Speakers at the conference were Dr. William Barclay, of Trinity College, Glasgow, Dr. H. Mykura, of the Natural Philosophy Department of Glasgow University, and Mr. George Houston, of the Political Economy Department, Glasgow University.

Dr. Barclay began by saying that the threat of nuclear warfare had not really produced a new problem; it had simply accentuated an old problem: that of the Christian attitude to war. Christianity was founded on love, and Christian love involves seeking the highest good of all men. It was therefore obvious that Christian love did not mean allowing people to do what they liked. It involved discipline, punishment, and restraint of the wrong-doer. But

By J. W. Sim

Warden of Community House  
Glasgow

Christian discipline, punishment, and restraint must always be exercised with a view to remedy and cure, never with a view to retribution and destruction.

"You do not make a man better," said Dr. Barclay, "or a nation better by wiping out the man and the nation. Warfare of any kind is the denial of the basic Christian principle that force, when it is used, as it sometimes must be used, is intended for remedy and cure."

"When we say that if Communism invaded this country, it would be the end of Christianity, it simply means that we have lost all belief in the power of Christianity to convert and to change men. A Christian can destroy the enemies of Christianity only by converting them."

In his opinion the plain choice was between following a course of so-called prudence, or risking everything on the adventure of being fully Christian. In point of fact,

the policy of so-called prudence leads in the end to a situation based on fear and pregnant with disaster.

Dr. Barclay concluded: "Any campaign for unilateral nuclear disarmament is foredoomed to failure without an equal campaign for the revitalisation of the Church. If the only defence of Christianity is, in fact, Christianity itself, then the defence lies upon the Church."

Speaking of the scientific issues involved, Dr. Mykura said that the UK defence expenditure was £1,600,000,000, and that of the US \$40,000,000,000. One estimate of the number of megaton bombs now in existence thinks they could make two-thirds of the northern hemisphere uninhabitable for one or two years. The alarming thing is that many other countries could start manufacturing even more bombs as soon as they could afford it.

As a political economist, George Houston said that a study of the economic aspects of disarmament yielded powerful supporting arguments with which to defeat the advocates of nuclear terrorism. World disarmament would set in motion objective economic forces which would make both sides more economically dependent on each other. It would, moreover, take the aid to underdeveloped countries out of the context of cold war.

## South African Peace News reader defies ban on suppressed issues

SOUTH AFRICAN police called at the Durban home of *Peace News* reader Theodore Kloppenburg recently to demand copies of the banned issues of *Peace News* which he had earlier told the Government he was keeping in defiance of a Government order making it illegal to do so.

He took four down to the police station on the following day, telling them that he did not intend to surrender the copies from his own personal file.

In a letter to the Minister of the Interior telling of this action he said: "I reiterate that I take this action not out of bravado or for personal glory but for the moral support to all those who disobey laws, in this

Article 19 of the said Universal Declaration which says in part: 'Everyone has the right to . . . receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers'

"It is only my great desire for truth, justice and freedom that urges me to this stand of resistance. I am ready to undergo any punishment the not so very free judges or magistrates may now impose upon me."

By Sybil Morrison

## KNOWN TO MAN

*When thousands of unburied corpses were sinking into the Flanders slime, the Imperial War Graves Commission was set up to ensure that all who had fallen in defence of freedom should be given a fitting grave or memorial.*— Sunday Times, May 7.

TEN THOUSAND cemeteries in 150 different countries are maintained by the War Graves Commission, now called "Commonwealth" instead of "Imperial." There are not only graves in these cemeteries but memorials to those whose bodies were never found; the graves of those who could not be identified were marked with the words: "Known to God."

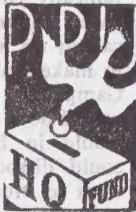
I have not myself seen these serried ranks of graves and uniform crosses; I am fully prepared to believe the description of those who have, that everything is exquisitely laid out, that there is beauty and simplicity in the architecture of the Gardens of Remembrance, and that the conception of a holy shrine for the "heroic dead" is well implemented.

The facts, however, are very different from the sentimental glamorisation that is inherent in such words as those inscribed in the Warrior's Chapel, Westminster Abbey: "They died in every quarter of the earth and in all its seas, and their graves are made sure to them by their kin." Yes, they died, but they also killed; and though in the agony of grief it is natural for those bereaved to make sure about the graves, it is in any respect a meaningless phrase; it is a device for assuaging grief and a method for misting over the truth.

Those "whose bodies were never found" means that men, men with feeling and nerves, with passions and senses, with flesh and bones and blood, were disintegrated into nothing but fragments, unrecognisable and untraceable, by blast and fire. As for those "known to God" they were bodies so decomposed, so shattered and disfigured and broken that they could not be identified

### THE PLEDGE

THE words of the Peace Pledge Union pledge (adapted by Dick Sheppard from a sermon preached in New York by Dr. Fosdick during a service to commemorate the Armistice after the First World War) were endorsed at the first Annual General Meeting on April 2 and 3, 1938, after various amendments had been rejected.



The AGM of 1941, though agreeing that the Four Affirmations should be regarded as expressing the corporate mind of the PPU, declined to alter the wording of the pledge to which each individual is committed.

In 1946, 1954 and 1957 each AGM repeated the decision that no alteration was necessary, and on the last occasion rejected a proposal to make the payment of a subscription a condition of membership.

The Declaration of Policy and Principles endorsed by the 1958 AGM was issued in the pamphlet *Pacifism as an expansion of*



first year were endorsed at the 1937 Annual General Meeting on April 2 and 3, 1938, after various amendments had been rejected.

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A proposal to alter the pledge was again rejected by the 1959 AGM, and this year a similar motion to add further obligations to the pledge was defeated. It was, however, agreed that National Council should revise and re-issue the card containing some implications of the pledge which was approved at the 1950 AGM.

So the basis of the PPU remains the unilateral action of the individual in renouncing all war, issuing in the policy of the unilateral renunciation of all weapons of war by the nation, and beyond that, members are left free to interpret the pledge as conscience directs.

So, too, members are left free to become voluntary subscribers or not, but I cannot but think that all those who have the cause of pacifism at heart will want not only to subscribe to the pledge but also to PPU funds as conscience and pocket direct. If this is also your view, will you please send to the PPU Headquarters Fund what your conscience approves.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Our Aim for the year: £1,750.

Amount received to date: £270, an increase of £63.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send your pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6 Endsleigh Street

London, W.C.1

## defies ban on suppressed issues

SOUTH AFRICAN police called at the Durban home of *Peace News* reader Theodore Kloppenburg recently to demand copies of the banned issues of *Peace News* which he had earlier told the Government he was keeping in defiance of a Government order making it illegal to do so.

He took four down to the police station on the following day, telling them that he did not intend to surrender the copies from his own personal file.

In a letter to the Minister of the Interior telling of this action he said: "I reiterate that I take this action not out of bravado or for personal glory but for the moral support to all those who disobey laws, in this and other countries, laws which are flagrantly contrary to the Rights of Man as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, drawn up by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, and to which declaration, I understand, the Union of South Africa is a signatory.

"The banning of these numbers of *Peace News* . . . cannot be in agreement with

## RECITAL TO AID CHRISTIAN ACTION

WILFRED BROWN (tenor) and John Williams (guitar) will give a recital in aid of Christian Action on May 13.

The recital will include works by Bach, Scarlatti, Haydn, and such modern composers as Arnold Cooke, Jean Francaix and Villa-Lobos. Tickets may be obtained in advance from Christian Action, 2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4, or from the Wigmore Hall, where the recital is to take place at 3 p.m. (Seats at 21s., 12s. 6d., 10s., 7s. 6d. and unreserved 5s.)

Wilfred Brown, who worked with Quaker relief during the last war, is one of our busiest oratorio singers and broadcasters. John Williams, a pupil of Segovia, has a growing reputation as a broadcaster and recording artiste.

## DORIS WHITEMAN

DORIS WHITEMAN, who died on April 25 at the age of 66, was an active worker for pacifism and a lifelong Socialist. With her husband Duncan, who was imprisoned for conscientious objection in the first world war, she was a regular and valued member of the King's Heath and Cotteridge (Birmingham) Peace Pledge Union group.

Article 19 of the said Universal Declaration which says in part: 'Everyone has the right to . . . receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers'

"It is only my great desire for truth, justice and freedom that urges me to this stand of resistance. I am ready to undergo any punishment the not so very free judges or magistrates may now impose upon me."

## HULL POSTER BAN Pacifist Fortnight Campaign

THE Hull Corporation and East Yorkshire Motor Services have refused to display the announcements for the Pacifist Fortnight now appearing on London's underground trains.

To date, 3,000 each of leaflets No. 1 and No. 2 are on order and 2,000 stickers have been sold. Orders are still coming in.

Rugby, Southend, and South Bucks are planning to send coach-loads of supporters to the Trafalgar Square meeting on June 1. Victor Gollancz has joined the list of speakers for that meeting.

During the fortnight, Dick Sheppard House will be nightly "at home" to all visitors, with a continuous programme of meetings, forums, and film shows.

Sheffield and Plymouth Quakers are following the example of a London group in suggesting special displays of books on pacifism and pacifists at their public libraries during the fortnight.

Newcastle means to take advantage of the annual Race Week on Town Moor where the pacifists hope to have a stall, distribute leaflets and send off a large number of balloons with peace cards attached.

Poster parades, open-air meetings, garden parties and intensive leafleting are being planned in many parts of the country.

## SYBIL MORRISON'S COLUMN

SYBIL MORRISON has expressed a wish to conclude her series. Her lively and controversial column has spanned a period of twelve years and seen the introduction and ending of peace-time conscription in Britain.

and in all its seas, and their graves are made sure to them by their kin." Yes, they died, but they also killed, and though in the agony of grief it is natural for those bereaved to make sure about the graves, it is in any respect a meaningless phrase; it is a device for assuaging grief and a method for misting over the truth.

Those "whose bodies were never found" means that men, men with feeling and nerves, with passions and senses, with flesh and bones and blood, were disintegrated into nothing but fragments, unrecognisable and untraceable, by blast and fire. As for those "known to God" they were bodies so decomposed, so shattered and disfigured and broken that they could not be identified by man; the responsibility of identification is therefore placed upon God.



"The horrors of war" is a common phrase, but it is only when this is taken into each individual life that it has any real meaning. To each separate person comes his own pain, his own fear, his own horror, his own grief, and finally his own death. Only he, and no other, can bear these things, and ultimately, whether he be one of millions dying in a nuclear blast, or one of thousands suffocating in the Flanders slime, or one pierced by bullet or bayonet, only he can bear it, only he can die.

It is the same for those who lay their flowers and their wreaths on the graves in War Cemeteries, who stand in silence for two minutes on Remembrance Day; each one must bear his own grief, each one carry his own burden of regret or remorse.

All the care and art that has been given to drawing a picture of heroism and sacrifice in a great cause; all the fine words that have been poured out in praise of those "who gave their lives" are prostituted to give an artificial and false impression so that the truth about war may not be faced.

People are saddened by the work of the War Graves Commission, but they are uplifted; they are horrified, but inspired, for it is not said that these men were conscripted, that they had no freedom to decide, that they were not sent to the four corners of the earth to die, but to kill; that what they fought for was not freedom but victory, and that any means towards that victory was accounted good, even if it meant shaking the blood-stained hands of Stalin.

It is no service to mankind to make war seem a heroic and a selfless sacrifice; it is a monstrous evil, and it has brought the human race to the brink of total annihilation. Was it for this that those buried in the War Cemeteries fought and killed and died? Whatever may be known to God it cannot be that; what is known to man is that the world itself will be a grave if there is a nuclear war; there is only one answer—war must be abolished.



# What have the unions done now?

## "AEU REPUDIATES UNILATERALISM.

MR. GAITSKELL NOW CERTAIN OF A DECISIVE MAJORITY." So ran the headlines in last Friday's *Guardian*, and to add to the gloom there were two other reverses last week: the Shopworkers also rejected their former unilateralist policy, and the executive of the National Union of Railwaymen celebrated May Day by adopting the "official" (i.e. Gaitskell) line on armaments.

Last year, of the six big unions, four voted unilateralist at Scarborough and won the Labour Party Conference to that policy: the Transport and General Workers, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Railwaymen and the Shopworkers. This year there might not be a single one of these four taking such a position.

Why has this happened and what does it mean? It is worth looking first at what the unions have voted for. The Shopworkers gave their largest majority to the so-called Crossman-Padley defence draft, which was narrowly defeated in the Labour Party's national executive in February and is being canvassed as a "compromise" in the Labour movement. The union also endorsed (by a much smaller majority) the "official" Labour-TUC statement which is straight Western military policy but which itself had been formulated with the unilateralists in mind.

We shall be coming in a moment to the differences between these two statements. The Engineers' national committee rejected a unilateralist motion (by 28 votes to 23 with one abstention) and then passed on instructing their executive

"to request the Labour Party and the TUC to consider ways and means of formulating a defence and foreign policy capable of uniting the Party and sufficiently flexible to take full cognizance of changing circumstances peculiar to defence and foreign affairs."

This artlessly formulated contrivance was passed by 37 to 12 with three abstentions. Incidentally Mr. E. Leslie of Edinburgh, who moved the motion which took the AEU into the unilateralist camp last year, supported this and voted against unilateralism. This is typical of the confusion which surrounds these debates. Mr. A. Harvey of Southend, who proposed this year's unilateralist motion, went out of his way to urge that Britain stay in NATO. Last Saturday in Manchester Mr. Crossman claimed that even a "so-called unilateralist" like Mr. Michael Foot would not go so far as to commit the next Labour Government to come out of NATO. It is, indeed, becoming increasingly difficult for people to discover if the unilateralists are standing on firm ground.

Which brings us back to the nature of the policies being offered round. According to *The Times*, the Gaitskell and Cross-

man lines are "much of a muchness." There is a difference of emphasis on US bases in Britain and the use of "tactical" nuclear weapons in NATO, "but since neither of these questions," continues *The Times*, "can be determined solely by a British Government so long as it adheres to the NATO alliance (a course which both statements sustain) the practical difference between them is small."

The important point about the Crossman-Padley line is that it is thought to make a placatory concession to the unilateralists and to be a unique formula for unity in the Party. In fact, it makes no real concession at all, and insists on a full Western contribution to the cold war (*The Guardian's* Labour correspondent at the Shopworkers' meeting referred to "the emergence of Mr. Padley as among the most effective defenders of collective defence in the whole British Labour movement"). "There can be no doubt," that paper commented editorially, "that the gulf between his position and Mr. Gaitskell's is trivial compared with the gulf that separates him from the unilateralists." In fact, the real difference between their positions is that Mr. Gaitskell's is much clearer and, it must be said, more honest.

There must be no misunderstanding of the role that Party unity has in this debate. *The Guardian's* industrial staff at the AEU conference reported: "It was the older Labour Party members who tipped the scale today. Some of them had voted unilateralist last year and many were mandated by their divisions to vote that way again this year. But when it came to it, they put their loyalty to the Labour Party above all other loyalties."

The logical conclusion to this process was revealed in the Engineers' motion which gave a blank cheque to their leaders to accept any old defence policy as long as it united the Party. And then, as if the Engineers had not brought the defence controversy into enough contempt, they followed their rejection of unilateralism with a unanimous demand for the cancellation of the agreement permitting Polaris submarines to be based in the Holy Loch—or in any other part of the British Isles!

This confusion indicates that the unilateralists have got to show the clarity of

**NEW**

**POLITICS**

by

**Christopher**

**Farley**

*New Statesman*, for example, is ardently pushing the Crossman-Padley line because it is more interested in Party unity and ousting Mr. Gaitskell from the leadership than in finding a new policy to help break out of the cold war. If unilateralists, however, were to accept such priorities it would be obvious to anyone that they were not seriously concerned with the Bomb as a matter of overriding importance.

There will continue to be arguments in the Labour movement about defence, and the multilateralists may well fall out among themselves. But the important task for unilateralists is to show that they have a radically different policy which starts from different assumptions. To get caught up in the squabble about whether to make ambiguous "concessions" to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament would be a disaster. The Campaign itself would in fact be much stronger if it could dissociate itself from people who want to blur CND's image and policy.

What has happened in the last few days is clear indication that the Scarborough decision was well in advance of convinced opinion in the Labour movement and a lot more campaigning will have to be done there. But this is not enough. It has also been a reminder of the fickleness of these votes. Not only do delegates ignore their mandates, but—worse still—the whole system works against genuine conviction. If a handful of activists turn up at a branch meeting and vote in a unilateralist policy, that is a "victory." But who is convinced by this method? The painful process of peace education may seem naive to some, but there are few short cuts.

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

### The wages of sin

NINETEEN South African, mercenary officers of the Katanga army, arrived back in Johannesburg on May 4. They had been among those captured by UN Ethiopian troops in Katanga in April. They said that all their money was in an Elisabethville bank, and they had now little hope of ever seeing it.

### Watchers watched

AN executive order reviving a "watch-dog" board to oversee the Central

Republic on May 4 decreed that "parasites" (those who do not engage in socially useful labour) are subject to banishment for up to five years by a decision of a people's court, or a "collective of working people."

★  
An appeal from 249 scientists in Denmark has gone to their Government asking that space should be taken through the press, radio and other means to tell the general public exactly what the use of atomic weapons implied. People, they said, could then answer the question "Should atomic



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## Watchers watched

**AN** executive order reviving a "watch-dog" board to oversee the Central Intelligence Agency, was issued by President Kennedy on May 4.

The group, consisting of six people, and known as the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, will report periodically on the objectives and performance of the activities of the CIA. It will be headed by Dr. James R. Killian, chairman of the corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Senator Hubert Humphrey told reporters that CIA would be "a government unto itself" unless placed under tight control.

## No comment

**SECTION 960** of the Neutrality Act (USA) reads: "Whoever, within the United States, knowingly begins or sets on foot or provides or prepares a means for or furnishes the money for, or takes part in, any military or naval expedition or enterprise to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominion of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people with whom the United States is at peace, shall be fined not more than \$3,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both."

## The Commonwealth sense

**SIR ALFRED ROBERTS**, at the conference of the United Textile Factory Workers Association at Morecambe, in reference to Hong Kong, said: "I am a humanitarian, but all this tripe about the Commonwealth and our people in the Commonwealth leaves me very cold, because I do not regard these as Commonwealth people in the sense we usually regard the Commonwealth."

## Objective sentence

**THE** Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet

Republic on May 4 decreed that "parasites" (those who do not engage in socially useful labour) are subject to banishment for up to five years by a decision of a people's court, or a "collective of working people."

**AN** appeal from 249 scientists in Denmark has gone to their Government asking that space should be taken through the press, radio and other means to tell the general public exactly what the use of atomic weapons implied. People, they said, could then answer the question, "Should atomic weapons be allowed in Denmark or not?"

# CALL IN THE IRISH!

**THE** outlook for the A-test-ban talks at Geneva looks rather dismal. Not that either side seems to have given up yet, or convinced itself that the other side simply doesn't want an agreement.

It is true that the US Government has been under strong pressure to resume testing. But in spite of Mr. Kennedy's Cuban performance, and his rather ominous words about the importance of strength, industry, determination, courage, vision, and the rest of it, he doesn't appear (at least at the time of writing) to have retreated from the view of the test talks expressed over a year ago by the science and technology committee of his own Party's Advisory Council.

This committee regarded the success of the test-ban negotiations as of critical importance. Failure would presumably lead to unrestricted testing and to the general dissemination of nuclear weapons, and it would be hard to see a way out of the situation that that would create.

## Reluctance

Mr. Khrushchev's speech last Saturday insisted that the Russians are still keenly interested in general disarmament, and there is no doubt that they would prefer to see the test talks in that context. (So, for that matter, would Philip Noel-Baker). At the test talks the Russians have shown their usual reluctance to give a free hand to inspection before general disarmament was under way (on the ground that it would amount to licensed espionage). Even so, much progress had been made towards

agreement to it, they put their loyalty to the Labour Party above all other loyalties.

The logical conclusion to this process was revealed in the Engineers' motion which gave a blank cheque to their leaders to accept any old defence policy as long as it united the Party. And then, as if the Engineers had not brought the defence controversy into enough contempt, they followed their rejection of unilateralism with a unanimous demand for the cancellation of the agreement permitting Polaris submarines to be based in the Holy Loch—or in any other part of the British Isles!

This confusion indicates that the unilateralists have got to show the clarity of their position—and stick to it. In this they will get no help from outside. The

What has happened in the last few days is clear indication that the Scarborough decision was well in advance of convinced opinion in the Labour movement and a lot more campaigning will have to be done there. But this is not enough. It has also been a reminder of the fickleness of these votes. Not only do delegates ignore their mandates, but—worse still—the whole system works against genuine conviction. If a handful of activists turn up at a branch meeting and vote in a unilateralist policy, that is a "victory." But who is convinced by this method? The painful process of peace education may seem naïve to some, but there are few short cuts.

At a CND weekend school at Oxford last

● ON PAGE FIVE

Mr. Hammarskjöld has succeeded in holding his own so far because he hasn't lost the confidence of many neutralist nations. And this may well indicate the kind of line that will help the development of an international authority. No conflict is likely to involve the special interests of every member of the UN; and those who are not immediately involved can see more clearly the importance of keeping the machinery of human relationships in working order.

As yet that machinery is only in its shaky first stages, so far as global administration is concerned. Until it is more firmly established, it will be very difficult to contend with fears that it has been "captured" by the other side (whoever that may be). And therefore it will be difficult to get arms negotiations past their present dilemma: "We'll disarm if you'll admit inspection from the start."—"We'll admit inspection if you'll disarm from the start."

## Diplomacy

The trouble is that we can't afford to wait, as the Democratic Advisory Council knows well enough. The paralysis of Great Power talks shows the urgency of the need for neutralist diplomacy. Is it too much to ask the Labour Party leadership to brush the dust off that non-nuclear club idea which they borrowed from the Irish in order to defeat the rank-and-file unilateralists? The leaders were pretty tepid about it then, but consultation with the Irish Department of External Affairs might warm them up a bit.

They might even find that the Irish had thought up some new ideas since.



## Whitehall sit-down

ONCE again the Committee of 100 has mounted a well-organised display of non-violence. Once again it has come up against an even better organised display of non-violence—by the police! The effect on the public has been to demonstrate the stability and order of British society. And so it will go on—until, perhaps, the demonstrators press matters to a point where tempers are lost and bitterness engendered on both sides. But will that be non-violence?

By contrast, a genuine demonstration of well-applied non-violence is proceeding in a quiet, unpublished way as the **Polaris** marchers continue northwards. The Direct Action Committee has for years been mounting these demonstrations by small groups of well-trained people, aimed at specific objectives. They have the double aim of making a meaningful protest at an obvious evil, and of offering a symbolic outlet for the pent-up fear and aggressiveness of the ordinary man, who sees no way out of the nuclear dilemma.

The fact is the public is no longer unaware of the Campaign. Its aims are widely known and up to a point respected. (*Peace News* forgot to mention René Cutforth's fine tribute to the Aldermaston march on the BBC.) But we have now reached the limit, and are making no further headway. We are faced by the real dilemma of ordinary people who are genuinely unconvinced that nuclear disarmament would give them safety.

Could not some of the limited funds available for these demonstrations be allocated to a pilot project of consumer research—designed to discover the public's reaction to the Campaign's various activities, and to analyse their objections to nuclear disarmament? Then we should have something to go on—instead of working in the dark.—**A. LODGE, 31 Swanley Lane, Swanley, Kent.**

YOUR issue of May 5 carried big headlines which proclaim "Another Sit-down Triumph." True enough the Whitehall sit-down achieved a modicum of publicity for a number of actors and actresses, but so far as I could judge from a perusal of the press and a fairly faithful adherence to the television, precious little for any rational or moral reasons advocating nuclear disarmament.

Elsewhere in the same issue Bayard Rustin was reported to have said: "However the effect of the sit-down reaches

conscience; but may I as one who has campaigned for some years by less spectacular but equally arduous and—to judge by results—more successful methods, make an earnest plea:

1. That such gestures should be sensible and relevant so that people with only a normal degree of common sense and who have never even heard of Gandhi can comprehend what it is about and how the action has a bearing on nuclear disarmament. I concur with the comments of Joan Layton (PN, last week) in your correspondence column.

2. That such gestures should be better timed so that the least possible amount of harm be done.

3. That the absurd doctrine of "going limp" should be abandoned and that participants should walk away when arrested in a manner more becoming to sensible human beings who have retained some semblance of respect for their opponents. Not only would this tend towards the retention of some degree of dignity and normality and thus enhance the possibility of the demonstration being taken both seriously and sympathetically, but it would also enable the police to arrest more people. This latter is, I gather, supposed to have some mystical and proportionate relevance to the achievement of nuclear disarmament. The connection is, to say the least, by no means clear to me, but is it too much to hope that those who believe that the greater the number arrested the greater the triumph will take serious note of this suggestion?—**FRANCIS JUDE, 146 Abbots Rd., Abbots Langley, Herts.**

**HATS** off to the Committee of 100 and supporters, in spite of unfavourable criticism from some sections of the press.

The issue of nuclear arms is far too serious to permit our children's and grandchildren's future to be seriously endangered without some real protests. The threat of the mass murder of tens of millions of innocents, authorised by the Government, while there is agitation for the return of the birch and hangings for youths of 18 years, is most damnable hypocrisy.—**K. HOCKNEY, 18 Hutton Terrace, Ecclehill, Bradford 2.**

AS a member of the Committee of 100, I naturally welcome your approval of the Whitehall sit-down; but as one of the people

## Letters to the Editor

The nuclear deterrent will continue to give this freedom. Not that your readers are likely to be allowed to read this.—**A. D. LACEY, Burnside, Kendal End Rd., Barnt Green, Worcs.**

### Tax refusal

I REGRET to say I consider that Nora Page (PN, April 28) is quibbling. Tax refusal would create a lot of publicity for the anti-war idea. It would also involve those taking part in it in a great deal of discomfort including a possible term of imprisonment. These are the real reasons why no one does it.—**R. M. CLARKE, 36 Prospect Rd., Brixham, Devon.**

### Countering violence

AS Laurens Otter (PN, April 28) says, it is a simple issue; I am surprised that he has made such complications of it.

He says that he thinks it unnecessary to say why they did not prosecute, but goes on to give two reasons:

1. A pacifist should not use the police or other coercive powers of the state.
2. A group engaged in a series of acts of civil disobedience cannot call on the authorities to protect them in the intervals.

The first appears to equate pacifism with anarchism, which amounts to an admission that within the context of present society it is meaningless. The second advocates that the civil disobedient is a complete outlaw—and this not only while committing his disobedient acts, but at other times. Fortunately very few of our opponents are so unprincipled as to advance this view (more appropriate to a totalitarian dictator than to a pacifist) or we might have had the machine guns turned on us in Whitehall last week.

Since, apart from these two sophisms, Laurens Otter thought it unnecessary to explain, it is hard to understand why they should wish to put themselves in such a false position (involving by implication other civil disobedients who would repudiate it), and why they should think it right as a matter of practice to encourage louts and hooligans in violent and destructive ways.

Unless it be that they have a compulsion towards martyrdom? If so, their long vigil at the Holy Loch may serve to release them

Graham's Point. Ruth Townsend has managed to repair two of the small hike tents which were badly slashed but not burned. We live in these. However, we are badly in need of camping equipment of all kinds to replace that lost. Of course we must expect that the raiders will attack again, and anything that we are lent or given may be destroyed by them.

Despite these frequent visits by raiders, sanitary inspectors and others, we intend to continue our resistance to the establishment and operation of the **Polaris** base as long as it remains.—**TERRY CHANDLER and nine others, Polaris Action, c/o Strone Post Office, Dunoon, Scotland.**

### Inside the Labour Party?

THE short-lived triumph of the nuclear unilateralists within the Labour Party is over. The reversal of the Scarborough vote for unilateral nuclear disarmament is as certain as anything in politics can be.

Surely few politically knowledgeable people will be surprised. When will nuclear disarmament campaigners and pacifists realise that there is absolutely no difference between the policies of the Conservative and Labour Parties on this great issue of nuclear war?

The Labour Party has an undeserved reputation of having an inclination towards pacifism. The fact is that throughout its history pacifists have tried to convert it and have failed dismally. Always they have been treated contemptuously.

As Mr. Gaitskell said: "We have always had pacifists and neutralists and I suppose we always shall have." He did not need to add: "They don't count." His tone implied it.

The only hope for a policy of peace is the presence in the House of Commons of a pacifist party. Such a party exists—the Fellowship Party. All sincere believers in the abolition of war—whether because they know it to be wrong and futile, or whether they believe that another war would mean the end of the human race—should give wholehearted support to this party.—**BOB WALSH, 154 Droop St., London, W.10.**

## The unions

● FROM PAGE FOUR

summer someone suggested that I was foolishly trying to mount a campaign against the block vote just at the time that it was turning in our favour. I



have something to go on—instead of working in the dark.—**A. LODGE, 31 Swanley Lane, Swanley, Kent.**

**Y**OUR issue of May 5 carried big headlines which proclaim "Another Sit-down Triumph." True enough the Whitehall sit-down achieved a modicum of publicity for a number of actors and actresses, but so far as I could judge from a perusal of the press and a fairly faithful adherence to the television, precious little for any rational or moral reasons advocating nuclear disarmament.

Elsewhere in the same issue Bayard Rustin was reported to have said: "However, the effect of the sit-down reaches beyond the state. It will have an effect upon the struggle within the Labour Party and it will affect the nature and programme of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament." The fact that both the important Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers and Amalgamated Engineering Union voted against unilateralism so soon after this sit-down suggests that the effect is unlikely to be the favourable one which Bayard Rustin presumably envisaged.

Rather does it confirm the worst apprehensions of many campaigners who fear that those who go out of their way to find a law to break and who insist on being carried away like petulant children will only arouse sympathy for the police—the symbol of the authorities which uphold the H-bomb.

Everyone has the right to follow their

**H**ATS off to the Committee of 100 and supporters, in spite of unfavourable criticism from some sections of the press.

The issue of nuclear arms is far too serious to permit our children's and grandchildren's future to be seriously endangered without some real protests. The threat of the mass murder of tens of millions of innocents, authorised by the Government, while there is agitation for the return of the birch and hangings for youths of 18 years, is most damnable hypocrisy.—**K. HOCKNEY, 18 Hutton Terrace, Eccleshill, Bradford 2.**

**A**S a member of the Committee of 100, I naturally welcome your approval of the Whitehall sit-down; but as one of the people who took part and were arrested I must question your description (PN, May 5) of the demonstration as "a well-organised, well-disciplined action in which the spirit of protest came through admirably."

I think we have to accept the facts that it was not really very well organised (the actual decision to sit down was very muddled), that there was widespread confusion and indecision in Whitehall when the police stopped arresting demonstrators and man-handled them on to the pavement instead (to their bitter disappointment!), and that there was parallel confusion and indecision at the various police stations because of the lack of any definite policy on our attitude to the police or on the business of accepting bail or paying fines (far too many people didn't seem to know why they were there).

Of course, these problems demand a lot of thought and discussion, but two basic questions come to my mind. What in fact were we protesting about (the British Bomb, all Bombs, war, authority, no good causes, etc.)? And why did only half as many people take part on April 29 as on February 18 (fear of arrest, poor publicity, wrong time, wrong place, wrong technique, etc.)?

Another immediate point is that clearly we can't even dominate central London yet, and we should be very careful about travelling any further afield until we can if we are to avoid a fiasco. If there aren't at least 10,000 participants in the next demonstration of non-violent civil disobedience organised by the Committee of 100, something is badly wrong.—**NICOLAS WALTER, 43 Aberdare Gardens, London, N.W.6.**

**I** WONDER how many "sitters" round the Cenotaph on April 29 remembered that they did so by courtesy of the dead, who gave their lives to preserve the freedom to block the right of way to other road-users?

unprincipled as to advance this view more appropriate to a totalitarian dictator than to a pacifist) or we might have had the machine guns turned on us in Whitehall last week.

Since, apart from these two sophisms, Laurens Otter thought it unnecessary to explain, it is hard to understand why they should wish to put themselves in such a false position (involving by implication other civil disobedients who would repudiate it), and why they should think it right as a matter of practice to encourage louts and hooligans in violent and destructive ways.

Unless it be that they have a compulsion towards martyrdom? If so, their long vigil at the Holy Loch may serve to release them from it, and they, and our cause, will be so much the better.—**RICHARD WIGGS, 70 Lytton Ave., Letchworth, Herts.**

**O**UR activities in the Holy Loch area are not solely concerned with opposing Polaris. We wish to convince people that it is possible to defend one's ideals without resorting to the use of violence.

In his report in last week's *Peace News* your Glasgow correspondent suggested that we might consider initiating prosecution against, or publicly identify, the men who recently attacked our camp. In our opinion, to do so would be totally inconsistent with our ideas. We do not wish to have our attackers punished. Our only hope is that eventually we will influence them in such a way that they no longer wish to attack us.

The police inspector from Dunoon tried very hard to persuade us to enable him to take appropriate action. "They won't be punished," he assured us, "they will be given corrective training." At one time or another all of our group have served terms of imprisonment. We know only too well just how corrective the training is.

We have now re-established our camp at

the presence in the House of Commons of a pacifist party. Such a party exists—the Fellowship Party. All sincere believers in the abolition of war—whether because they know it to be wrong and futile, or whether they believe that another war would mean the end of the human race—should give wholehearted support to this party.—**BOB WALSH, 154 Droop St., London, W.10.**

## The unions

● FROM PAGE FOUR

summer someone suggested that I was foolishly trying to mount a campaign against the block vote just at the time that it was turning in our favour. I wonder what he thinks now. I suspect that he, like scores of Campaigners to whom I have spoken in the last few days, are seriously worried by the union's voting.

This concern seems to me to spring from accepting the debates in the unions on the wrong terms. The Campaigners who march from Aldermaston and the sit-down demonstrators are in danger of being obsessed with numbers. If they don't get more numbers each time they are written off by the press as a failure. This is how the press measures events—and this yardstick is accepted by unilateralists.

Likewise with the block votes, only more so. Voting figures tell us even less about personal conviction than marching. Of course we are concerned with quantity. But we are interested in quality too. But of course for Campaigners who were last year quite uncritical of the block vote to say this year that easily won numbers are not everything would sound suspiciously like "sour grapes." To save them this embarrassment we'll say it for them. Last week's union votes were not a disaster. So cheer up.

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The Century of Total War—VII

# From Aldermaston to Christmas Island

By Hugh Brock

*This week Hugh Brock recalls the growth of the movement against the Bomb. The first action at the atomic plant at Aldermaston—now known all over the world as a symbol of the great Easter Marches organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—the first action against a bomber base—The long discussions on the question of civil disobedience—Finally the actions of national figures like Sir Richard Acland, who resigned his parliamentary seat to contest an election on the H-Bomb issue, and Donald Soper who called publicly for civil disobedience at the time of Suez.*

"THE atomic plant at Aldermaston has been surveyed by a member of Operation Gandhi. It covers a large area of nearly two square miles. . . . Something like fifty squatters would be required to make an effective demonstration at the gate. This would not unfortunately be the only entrance: there is a contractor's entrance through which pass all the lorries bringing building materials."

This was the picture given in February, 1952, to the members of the pacifist group who the month previously had been arrested for a sit-down outside the War Office in protest against the manufacture of atom bombs in Britain.

"Fifty squatters" were not available. The group decided at their meeting on March 1 "that the Aldermaston demonstration should not be an act of civil disobedience, but that we should be right in planning an action in which as many pacifists as possible could take part and one in which those feeling their way towards public action would be encouraged to join in."

A coach—in which the final briefing was to be given—was hired to take between 20 and 30 demonstrators from London. As they neared Aldermaston village they did not recognise a small group of four or five people walking in the same direction, among them two ex-servicemen, Austin Underwood and the organist of Salisbury Cathedral, Ronald Tickner, and Mary Harrison, who three years later was to trek from Salisbury

to Downing Street with an H-bomb protest. "We can do nothing to protect you," two policemen warned the demonstrators as the march lined up. "There are more than a thousand workers down there."

The three-mile walk to the plant had been timed so that the posters would be on show as the buses and coaches poured out of the building site. Leaflet distributors had gone on in advance to give out the group's four-page folders to the men as they boarded the vehicles.

"As the long file of buses and coaches went past the marchers," *Peace News* reported, "there were shouts and cheers of sympathy as the men read the posters: 'No more war,' 'Atom bombs disgrace democracy,' 'Atomic secrecy breeds fear,' and many others."

Back again in the village, an open-air meeting was held on the village green, attended by but few of Aldermaston's population of 300.

Publicity, apart from the pacifist journals, was negligible. The demonstrators consoled themselves with the opportunity which the expedition had given for the members of the group to get to know each other better and the discussion on the next action, at the US atom-bomber base at Mildenhall in East Anglia.

## BOMBER BASE

With growing confidence in the methods being used, Michael Randle and the writer went to the base to draw up plans for a demonstration on June 28, 1952. The station officer at Mildenhall Police Station was visibly shaken when confronted with two pacifists who announced that they

the entrance gates, called to everyone within earshot: 'We are demonstrating against all atomic warfare and preparations for it.' Then we lay down in the gateway, feet touching, and held our posters."

They were not arrested. Traffic and the airfield bus service had been diverted to another entrance a mile or two away. The two were almost roasted by the heat of the mid-summer sun on the asphalt.

The poster paraders went on through the married quarters, returned to the gate, and the two got up to join them in the return walk to the town.

A demonstration without civil disobedience followed at the germ warfare research station at Porton, on Salisbury Plain, in 1953, by which time "Operation Gandhi" had changed its name to the Non-violent Resistance Group in deference to the wishes of Indian pacifists who emphasised that Gandhi had never wanted his name to be perpetuated—only the principles and methods which he had used.

## DISCUSSION

Group discussion continued unabated through the years. Michael Randle, answering the question "Is it right to commit an act of civil disobedience that involved obstructing people carrying out a job that a democratically elected government had undertaken," wrote in July, 1953:

"Suppose a vote had been taken in Germany in 1939 and showed the majority desiring the persecution of the Jews. Surely we would have been justified then in using passive obstruction?"

"What I think would be a good idea therefore would be to conduct a campaign on the A-bomb issue. We should write to the press, to our MP, to all the influential people we can and do everything in our power by democratic means to end the manufacture of these bombs. If this should prove unavailing, I would be prepared to commit civil disobedience by obstruction, and to advocate an all-out passive resistance campaign."

By 1955 the threat of the A-bomb had become the threat of the H-bomb and Sir Richard Acland resigned his seat in Parliament to contest an election on the issue.

Before Suez and Hungary temporarily diverted public attention, Professor Kathleen Lonsdale outlined for *Peace News* readers the grounds on which peace-workers should oppose nuclear weapon tests:

1. They are wrong;
2. They result from and cause suspicion;
3. They cause suffering and death, unnecessarily, to millions of "lesser creatures";
4. They are a gross misuse of the world's resources;
5. They add unnecessarily, even if at present very little, to the world's radiation hazard.

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The Anglo-French attack on Egypt saw the stirrings of revolt. From Tower Hill Dr. Donald Soper called on trade unionists to refuse to handle arms for the new war and declared in a sermon preached to a congregation of 2,000 people: "I stand before you tonight as one advocating for myself and my fellow ministers an attitude of civil disobedience. That is not an easy thing to say, but as I think of these people of Hungary, of Egypt and Israel, and the people of this country, I am finally satisfied that, until one community is prepared to base its policy on non-violent action, no real progress can be made . . ."; the Cambridge Daily News reported that "50 per cent. of the University's Reservists would come out against recall," in London the students marched through the West End.

On February 7, 1957 the H-bomb issue came firmly back into the picture with the setting up, at the offices of the National Peace Council, of a National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear War. That



fists as possible could take part and on which those feeling their way towards public action would be encouraged to join in."

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## BOMBER BASE

With growing confidence in the methods being used, Michael Randle and the writer went to the base to draw up plans for a demonstration on June 28, 1952. The station officer at Mildenhall Police Station was visibly shaken when confronted with two pacifists who announced that they would be requiring the market square for an open-air meeting in connection with a demonstration at the airfield. "We'll see what we can do to stop it," he told them. In fact, the group received a courteous letter from Inspector White asking that demonstrators park their cars in West Street.

On June 26 the following letter was sent to the CO at the base:

"This is to notify you that at 1.45 p.m. on Saturday, June 28, two British pacifists, Dorothy Morton and Constance Jones, will sit in the main gateway of the US base at Mildenhall, Beck Row, in protest against the building up of NATO bomber bases in this country.

Earlier at 12.30 a poster parade of some 20 pacifists will leave Mildenhall Market Place for the Main Gates, at which they will be timed to arrive at 2 p.m., returning by the same route to the Market Place.

We would emphasise that this demonstration is in no unfriendly spirit. We are strongly opposed to 'anti-Americanism,' as we hope the attached leaflet, which is being distributed in Mildenhall on Friday evening, shows."

The US Air Force appeared to consider it a major emergency.

An armed reconnaissance party in a jeep met the fifteen advancing poster paraders a mile from the base and returned to report. On the normally deserted perimeter of the airfield guards stood with sten guns at the ready or were busy with walkie-talkie radio. Mildenhall had been placed out of bounds to US troops and a posse of military police installed at the police station.

Miss Jones (now Mrs. Cyril Thorpe), a Birmingham school teacher, wrote afterwards in *Peace News*:

"Dorothy Morton and I spotted the poster paraders coming, so I went up to

discuss the principles and methods which he had used.

## DISCUSSION

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"Suppose a vote had been taken in Germany in 1939 and showed the majority desiring the persecution of the Jews. Surely we would have been justified then in using passive obstruction?"

"In other words, the first thing we have got to understand is that we can promise to co-operate with a democratic government only insofar as it observes the fundamental rights of every human being. At what stage we should start using direct action, either instead of or in addition to, normal parliamentary agitation it is difficult to say. Personally I would have no hesitation in principle to direct action in any case where lives were actually being lost by innocent people. That is why I consider that the question of atomic bombs and other indiscriminate weapons to be well worth thinking about with a view to initiating a passive resistance campaign. . .

"We should not force pacifism into people; we should not succeed anyway but bring pacifism into disrepute. For although I consider it wrong to kill another human being even when my own life is threatened by him, I am sure that those who do not feel this way about things will never be persuaded by my obstructing their efforts to defend themselves. On the contrary, they will be even stronger in their opposition to pacifism. For pacifism is a new creed to them with an ethic they have not even begun to understand.

"Where we can hope to make headway is on an issue which clearly involves a breach of their own ethics, an issue which they can understand. Such an issue would be the production or use of weapons that inflict destruction indiscriminately on innocent and guilty alike. People do feel uneasy about the A-bomb; they would not feel uneasy about shooting and killing "enemy" troops attacking them. I could not therefore on strategic grounds advocate another War Office or Mildenhall demonstration.

... as one advocating for myself and my fellow ministers an attitude of civil disobedience. That is not an easy thing to say, but as I think of these people of Hungary, of Egypt and Israel, and the people of this country, I am finally satisfied that, until one community is prepared to base its policy on non-violent action, no real progress can be made . . ."; the Cambridge Daily News reported that "50 per cent. of the University's Reservists would come out against recall," in London the students marched through the West End.

On February 7, 1957 the H-bomb issue came firmly back into the picture with the setting up, at the offices of the National Peace Council, of a National council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

Would the usual meetings and marches be enough to halt the proposed British test at Christmas Island?

Among the doubters were a group of pacifists who sought Japanese help in flying war resisters to the Far East in the hope that they could sail into the testing area.

*To be concluded.*

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# A commemoration richly merited

I AM ashamed to confess that until a month ago Jane Addams was hardly more than a name to me. I knew that she had founded the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, had just heard of Hull House, her Chicago settlement, and that was all.

Now, having read a selection from her writings, JANE ADDAMS, A CENTENNIAL READER (Macmillan, N.Y., \$6) and the centenary study by Margaret Tims, JANE ADDAMS OF HULL HOUSE, 1860-1935 (Allen & Unwin, 18s.), I can heartily recommend others, if they share my ignorance, to go and do likewise. They will make the acquaintance of a remarkable woman, and one who has still much to teach us.

True, many of the reforms Jane Addams initiated in the United States are taken for granted today, so that to sample her books is to be shocked into a fresh realisation of how much has been accomplished in the few decades since they appeared.

But this shock itself is salutary. If the old faith in automatic progress was an insult to the brave, patient, far-sighted minorities responsible for every advance, so, and no less, is the current despondency about progress, which prevents the best use being made of their legacy. We need reminding that what we have inherited, earlier generations fought for, if only in order to appreciate it. As Miss Tims says:

"The need for institutions has been accepted; the need to discover the correct motivation of the institutions has not. It is in this sphere, rather than in the practical measures that are necessarily confined in time and place, that Jane Addams's philosophy is still relevant to our present condition; and now, more than ever, needs to be applied."

Jane Addams herself was never unappreciative of what had already been achieved. One of her most praiseworthy qualities was her positiveness. It would have been so easy for a girl of her ability, condemned by the conventions of her class to either domesticity or idleness, to become that

pathetic, sterile thing, a rebel—an angry young woman reacting against existing institutions. Instead, her very frustration deepened her sympathy for people of other classes deprived by other conditions of the opportunity for fulfilment, and her determination to remedy it, not by abolishing these institutions, but by exacting the utmost from them.

In meeting the needs of the Chicago slum dwellers she was consciously meeting her own. One result was that she was entirely free from that condescension which is the curse of mere philanthropy; another, that she was hampered by no rigid preconceptions or blue-prints. Miss Tims cites a passage from TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE which is the key to Jane Addams's motivation and philosophy:

"A man who takes the betterment of humanity for his aim and end, must also take the daily experience of humanity for

the constant correction of his process. He must not only test and guide his achievement by human experience, but he must succeed or fail in proportion as he has incorporated it with his own."

Her sole touchstone being the mutual fulfilment of herself, her co-workers and their neighbours, she was continually open to suggestions, whether from individuals or events; continually ready to experiment, "proceeding always 'from the concrete to the abstract'—and then, it might be added, back again to the individual, human person as a test of the fitness of the abstract principle." Small wonder her enterprise thrived and burgeoned in unforeseen ways, until an American Secretary for Labour could say that "she really invented social work and social welfare as a department of life in the United States."



JANE ADDAMS

It may be no accident that Jane Addams, like democracy itself, owed as much to a scientific as to a religious education. Such a consistent empiricism, dependent upon a rare combination of humility and intellectual power, is the very condition of both individual and corporate growth.

To watch it at work can be fascinating: and it is the great merit of Miss Tims's study that it enables us to do so. One sees how even her pacifism sprang from the same approach: she would never have campaigned against war so tirelessly had she not directly experienced its stultifying impact upon the creative activities that engrossed her: and, Miss Tims gives us to infer, it was always to these, rather than to any manifestoes or blue-prints of a peaceful society, that she turned for its true antidote.

I have no space to quote any of the telling anecdotes or shrewd insights in which the CENTENNIAL READER abounds; nor to pay due tribute to Miss Tims's skilful blending of biography with interpretation. Her study, she says, being "deliberately limited to certain aspects of Jane Addams's philosophy that seem particularly relevant for today, is necessarily selective and incomplete. A great deal has had to be omitted of the 'human interest' that enlivens the least significant of her reminiscences." It more than makes up for this by tracing the development of her thought in the context of her experience by relating her multifarious activities one to another, and by evoking a personality that richly merits such commemoration.

## Antigenesis?

The Birth of the Bomb, by Ronald W. Clark. (Phoenix House, 16s.)

THIS is the account of "Britain's part in the weapon that changed the world." Non-scientists can take heart; this is a fascinating collective biography rather than what could so easily have been an essay in the pedantry of boffin's jargon.

In almost every instance the scientists' problems can be visualised. For instance, one can quickly grasp the enormity of the problem of separating isotopes of uranium 235 when this is likened to filling a jam-jar with individual grains of sand, the isotopes being "far more alike than neighbouring grains of sand on the seashore."

One is easily led to imagine a group of truant schoolboys hiding in a cellar, bent on concocting the most outrageous prank, spurred on by the possibility of being beaten to the kill by a rival gang. To take the likeness a step further, in the final stages others steal recognition for the enterprise by being able to provide the ingredients which the initiators lacked. "So surely did one intriguing incident lead to another."

## Responsibility

That British and European refugee physicists played such a large part in developing the basic theories is made very clear, and one cannot but wonder whether they would have been proud to see the cloud rise over Hiroshima had Britain had the necessary technical facilities to make the Bomb in this country. "The British scientists responsible for these calculations were so convinced of their significance that they were eager to get going on a full-scale effort to produce the required U235 to make the Bomb."

Many "ordinary people" contributed to the British effort, albeit unwittingly: printers in Bradford, scores of girls in Watford, 60 or 70 weekly labourers, people working for the ICI and Metropolitan-Vickers are all mentioned. As the financial aspect makes plain, for taxpayers it was inescapably "Our Bomb" that fell on August 6, 1945.

## F. A. Lea's Book Column



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fulfilment of herself, her co-workers and their neighbours, she was continually open to suggestions, whether from individuals or events; continually ready to experiment, "proceeding always 'from the concrete to the abstract'—and then, it might be added, back again to the individual, human person as a test of the fitness of the abstract principle." Small wonder her enterprise thrived and burgeoned in unforeseen ways, until an American Secretary for Labour could say that "she really invented social work and social welfare as a department of life in the United States."

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The tale is far from grim. Whether such a book should be spiced with humour is open to question, but at least the human aspects lend colour and make readable the account of what was, after all, a determined bid for overwhelmingly superior inhumanity.

Surely the verbal cartoon of the British physicists, on their way to join the Americans, travelling to Liverpool docks in black undertaker's cars, their luggage following in a hearse (provided by the ICI organisation) is intended to be symbolic?

Mr. Clark, who was a war correspondent with the Canadian Army and has written brief biographies of Sir John Cockcroft, Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery and Sir Julian Huxley, tends to avoid becoming engrossed in the rights and wrongs of the proceedings.

He records that once the question of whether the Bomb "could" be built had been settled, the decision of whether or not it "should" be was determined by economic rather than moral considerations. However, the author does say of the Nagasaki plutonium bomb: "It is difficult not to believe that the accusing stare of history will regard it as the greatest moral blunder of the war."

**D. K. Taylor**

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## Gandhi's non-violence

My Non-violence, by M. K. Gandhi. (Navajivan, 11s. 6d.)

THIS book, very ably edited by Sailesh Kumar Bandopadhyaya, is a compilation of occasional writings by Gandhi, from a newspaper column in 1920 to the draft constitution prepared by him for Congress on the day of his assassination in 1948.

It is a presentation in a handy single volume of material from the two volumes of NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR. Gandhi was not a man to use more words than were necessary, and the abridgement must have been far from easy. These writings come from the columns of *Young India*, *Harijan*, and elsewhere.

The title, MY NON-VIOLENCE, is well chosen, and the whole book traces in a dramatic way, all the more effective for not being contrived, the developments in Gandhi's thought with the passing of the years and the accruing of experience. One of the refreshing things about him was the complete honesty with which he would admit his mistakes and failures. His respect for truth was so great, he knew that any temptation to deceive himself only threatened his cause.

As time went on he admitted great failures. He blamed himself and disciplined himself as a consequence, but never lost the purity of his vision, nor his faith in the efficacy of non-violence when properly applied. "He confessed that it had become clear to him that what he had mistaken for satyagraha was not satyagraha... Indians harboured ill-will and anger against their erstwhile rulers, while they pretended to resist them non-violently. Their resistance was, therefore, inspired by violence and not by regard for the man in the British, whom they should convert through satyagraha,

Now that the British were voluntarily quitting India, apparent non-violence had gone to pieces in a moment." That was in August, 1947.

One intriguing chapter, for a Western reader, is Gandhi's letter to Adolf Hitler, written in December, 1941, but prevented by the then Government of India from being sent. It contains a paragraph which could well be addressed today to various world leaders whose names will leap to mind: "It is a marvel to me that you do not see that [the science of destruction] is nobody's monopoly. If not the British, some other power will certainly improve upon your method and beat you with your own weapon. You are leaving no legacy to your people of which they would feel proud. They cannot take pride in a recital of cruel deeds, however skilfully planned."

The Mahatma deserves his place in history if only for the fact that he was the first man in two thousand years to live and die solely for the purpose of putting into social effect the clear calm teachings of Christ's sermon on the mount. His failures cannot negate his achievements. His own reputation did not matter, the truth did. If this book serves no other purpose, it will remind present devotees of non-violence of this vital fact. Truth and love are the only things that matter. Personal repute and immediate results are not legitimate grounds for encouragement or discouragement.

**JACK SHEPHERD**





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## Committee of 100's plans

THE Committee of 100 met on Sunday, May 8, to examine the results of the demonstration held on April 29 in which they and their supporters attempted to hold a Public Assembly in Parliament Square. At this meeting it was decided that the next demonstration would be arranged to take place during the first week in July.

No decision was taken about the nature of the project or the location. The general feeling of those present, however, seemed to be that the next demonstration should be in central London, and that it was necessary to go back to the system of pledges employed to gather support for the demonstration held outside the Ministry of Defence on February 18. Also, attempts should be made to explain the reasons why it was important to take action of the kind the Committee are advocating. The next meeting of the Committee is likely to be concerned almost solely with policy.

Information about the number of people who have refused to pay their fine is difficult to obtain. It would seem that the figure may well be over 100. The legal procedure is that the demonstrators were fined for obstruction and no further instruction was given by the magistrate. At Bow Street Magistrates' Court no further action could be taken until the Chief Magistrate returned to the court.

### Correspondence

Correspondence on the subject of the demonstration has been heavier than any previous action. The letters reveal a whole range of reasons about why people feel it is

# 'SURVIVAL' - WHAT HAPPENED AT BBC?

From George Clark

WITH some pomp and not a little circumstance the BBC Home Service this week continued their series "The way we live now." The programme had aroused considerable interest as a result of a broadcast on April 12 in which Rene Cutforth set out to examine the Aldermaston March and marchers. Rene Cutforth can be considered to be in the top ranks of the BBC's team of reporters and the material he produced made a great impact. This week the programme was entitled "Survival" and dealt with the arguments and opinions in Britain today for and against the nuclear bomb.

Rene Cutforth completed his programme on Saturday and submitted it in the usual way. It was argued, editorially, that the material submitted was too heavily weighted in favour of the case for unilateralism. Mr. Cutforth felt he was unable to change his material and asked to be released from the responsibility for the programme. What kind of pressures are exerted to bring about this state of affairs? In the programme broadcast on April 12, the broadcast ended with these memorable words:

"Anyway, at the end, in Trafalgar Square, I found an obstinate and unwelcome thought continually invading the edges of my mind:

"Consider for a moment the times we middle-aged men have lived through in this monstrous century. First the huge

terrible casualty lists of the First World War. Then the mass unemployment, the misery, and the injustice of the early Thirties. Then the spectacle of Europe under the heel of a murdering maniac. Belsen-Auschwitz, the Jews in the gas chambers. Then another war. Then Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And finally for us an exhausted, meaningless state intent on the 'lolly.'

"In medical matters there's a principle called tolerance. If some poisons are fed to a human being over a long period he acquires a tolerance of them, and can survive a lethal dose, though his whole metabolism may have to change to meet the challenge. The young are those who have so far never breathed the poisons we have had to try to contrive to survive, and their minds are unclouded with them.

"With every increase of tolerance we have lost a human sensitivity. And now it seems quite possible that these marchers, whatever their impact on the bomb, or the possible future impact of the bomb upon them, these Aldermaston marchers may well already be the only people left alive in Britain."

Mr. Cutforth was interested only in presenting the Aldermaston marchers as a reporter. Editorial policy was not his concern. The BBC is to be commended for attempting to inform radio listeners about 'The way we live now.' However did they have the same sense of responsibility when

they considered the programme broadcast on Tuesday night?

What is interesting is that he was commissioned by the BBC to undertake the programme because it was felt that he would steer clear of the political arguments. That he would produce a programme which was good reporting but would nevertheless leave the basic issues untouched. However, the sincerity of the marchers and their deep sense of purpose moved him to report in the terms of the above quote.

"Survival" which was broadcast this week was intended to be a follow up. Though some doubts about the advisability of employing Rene Cutforth for the purpose were expressed, the Head of the Home Service insisted that Cutforth should do it.

### MISSING

When the programme came on the air, Rene Cutforth was missing with no explanation. The programme proved to be inadequate. The arguments of the Campaign and supporters of civil disobedience were kept to a minimum. There was a tendency to give prominence to "safe" people like the Bishop of Willesden. The only real confrontation of two people who took opposite views was between Barbara Castle, MP, and Sir Fitzroy Maclean, MP, the rest of the programme comprising "dubbed" interviews which appeared to be two people discussing together. In fact, the people interviewed never met each other.

In a statement at the end of the broadcast the BBC press department told *Peace News*:

"This programme, 'The way we live now,' was planned as described in the *Radio Times*. Rene Cutforth asked to be released from the programme because it became clear in the course of preparing it that Mr. Cutforth's very personal approach, which he has used so successfully in many broadcasts in this series, was not proving suitable for a programme of the character described in the *Radio Times*."

### QUESTIONS

It is reasonable at this stage to ask several pertinent questions. Why did the

THOUSANDS OF  
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YEARS OF WAR



Pacifist  
Fortnight  
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JUNE 18 to JULY 2

Information from  
the organisers

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## Correspondence

Correspondence on the subject of the demonstration has been heavier than any previous action. The letters reveal a whole range of reasons about why people feel it is necessary to take this kind of action now. They show a concern about the manner of the demonstration and the way it is organised. There is considerable anxiety about the future and how it relates to the wider movement against nuclear policies.

One constant theme running throughout the letters is the feeling that what has been started by the Committee of 100 is part of the evolution of attitudes arising from the previous years of campaigning. There are expressions of a determination not to be fobbed off with easy answers. The manner of behaviour is examined by several correspondents in some detail and tends to show the extent of the involvement with this new activity.

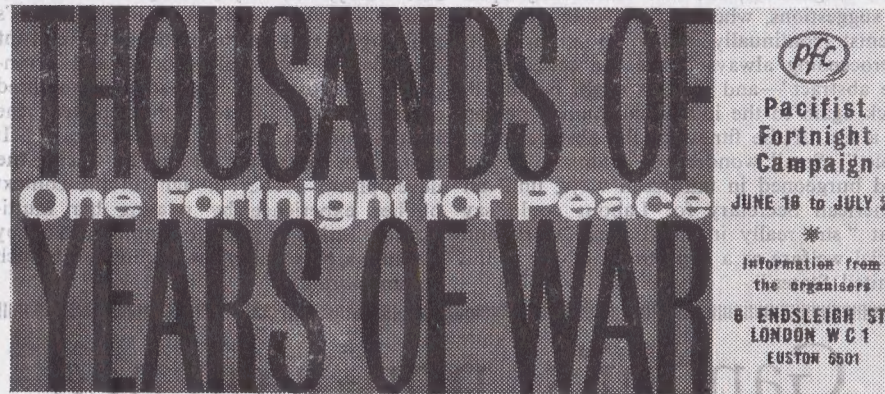
In the light of this, perhaps the Committee of 100 are wise to consider calling a conference of supporters. This was proposed at the meeting on Sunday. It will doubtless be one of the most interesting conferences (and probably most timely) called within the movement. Arrangements for the conference are to be made by the working group of the Committee.

## Hangman resigns

MR. BRIAN ALLEN, 27-year-old son of Britain's chief hangman, announced last Sunday that he was resigning his post as assistant hangman. He had assisted his father at five executions.

Mr. Allen explained that he had recently qualified as a state registered mental nurse and had to take a serious vow that at all times he would do all in his power to save and preserve life. He had therefore concluded that his two posts were incompatible.

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These publicity panels now being displayed on London's Underground trains are to be displayed in Hull following the reversal of a decision banning them from the city's transport. Copies of these posters may be had from the Pacifist Fortnight Campaign, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. See page three.

## May Day in Scotland

FROM OUR GLASGOW CORRESPONDENT

AT least the unilateralist debate continues in trades union circles in Scotland. At May Day Rallies in Glasgow and Edinburgh last Sunday unequivocal unilateralist resolutions were carried with acclamation.

Barbara Castle in Edinburgh called for a Labour policy which would put an end to the possession and manufacture of nuclear weapons by Britain as a matter of principle, and in Glasgow, Frank Cousins kept the issue alive by affirming the right of the Labour movement to go on talking and examining in the search for a solution to the issues which face us. He condemned the Tories for allowing the development of ignorance of the consequences of nuclear war.

There was a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament lorry in the Glasgow parade,

**£1,000 raised**

The London Regional Council of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament held a very successful Spring Fair last Saturday. Net proceeds are expected to be over £1,000. An original Arnold Wesker manuscript has been offered for auction and bids of over £100 for this are still being considered.

with a following of over 200, while many other supporters were taking part in the march with their appropriate Union organisation.

Trades Unionists were urged from the platform to be at the Dunoon demonstration this Sunday, May 14, and the opportunity was not lost to strengthen support for the London to Holy Loch marchers. It is now likely that a large number will go the whole way down the North bank of the Clyde, leaving Glasgow from the Kelvin-grove Park on Saturday, May 20.

## HOLY LOCH

● FROM PAGE ONE

on Friday or Saturday evening are flying from London Airport to Renfrew (Glasgow) Airport at 6 a.m. on Sunday, May 21. They are hoping to add to their present numbers in order to qualify for a fares reduction and travel both ways by plane for £7 10s.

The group of marchers who left London on Easter Monday after the Aldermaston March crossed the border into Scotland last Sunday. They are in good health and about twenty of the group have marched all the way. Oldest marcher is Evelyn Poppleton, a 70-year-old ex-nurse.

"This programme, 'The way we live now,' was planned as described in the *Radio Times*. Rene Cutforth asked to be released from the programme because it became clear in the course of preparing it that Mr. Cutforth's very personal approach, which he has used so successfully in many broadcasts in this series, was not proving suitable for a programme of the character described in the *Radio Times*."

## QUESTIONS

It is reasonable at this stage to ask several pertinent questions. Why did the BBC not make a statement about Mr. Cutforth's non-participation? Did somebody have second thoughts about the advisability of allowing such a free ranging discussion lasting 45 minutes? If it is the policy to allow the Bishop of Willesden to be so openly scathing about those who have decided that they can no longer co-operate with the Government on the issue of nuclear weapons, why is it not also policy to allow the Secretary of the Committee of 100 to reply? After all, he was interviewed for this purpose on Friday afternoon preceding the broadcast.

Mr. Cutforth wishes to make it quite clear that he has no quarrel with the BBC. He feels they have a right to decide how material for broadcasting should be used. In this instance he felt unable to make changes in his prepared material which would make it more suitable for BBC purposes.

The question is, what are these purposes and at what point are the changes made? Was somebody in the BBC alarmed that programmes of the kind arranged by Mr. Cutforth were too sympathetic?

Another kind of example would be to recall the treatment Richard Dimbleby gives to royal occasions. These events are described with sickening eulogies in praise of monarchy. The programme on April 12 is our only yardstick for comparison. It does not suggest that Rene Cutforth did more than a completely honest reporting job. Is this what the BBC are afraid of?

## PPU AGM: A CORRECTION

The St. Albans motion was carried on a show of hands, and did not fail to get a two-thirds majority as stated in *Peace News* last week. We apologise for this error in reporting.



# THE BOMB

Why the unions are  
turning round on  
unilateralism  
page four

# NATO IS TROUBLE

## ACROSS THE BORDER



## Whitsun at the Holy Loch

A GROUP of sponsors of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War have sent a special message to *Peace News* calling attention to the American Polaris Base at the Holy Loch, Scotland. The sponsors: John Braine, Ernie Roberts, Spike Milligan, Herbert Read, John Osborne, Constance Cummings, Michael Scott, John Berger, Alex Comfort, Horace Alexander and, Hugh Brock, say in their message:

"...in view of the reaction of the American Government to previous demonstrations against Polaris, it seems the

Road, St. Pancras, N.W.1, at 8.30 p.m. on the same evening. Wendy Butlin, who has been in charge of the organisation in the London office (STA 7062) asks supporters to contact her and book seats on these coaches or train.

Regions of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have made arrangements to transport supporters to Scotland for the demonstration. The London Regional Council are co-operating with Barking CND and the coach bookings are being handled by Ann Lincoln at TERminus 0284. Con-

"HAVING failed to settle their policy on the major military issues facing the North Atlantic alliance, the Americans have proposed that the Foreign Ministers meeting in Oslo this week should concentrate on world-wide political issues. This has been generally agreed."

With these words *The Guardian's* Defence correspondent, Leonard Beaton, started his opening report from Oslo on the NATO meeting there.

How short the military are of answers has just been shown by a new pamphlet published by the British Atlantic Committee. Entitled *Nuclear Disarmament*, it seeks to refute the case of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament by setting out "questions and answers for those who want the facts."

The British Atlantic Committee is a non-party body that aims to create public opinion in favour of NATO. A former Cabinet Minister is president, and among the vice-presidents is Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas, an Opposition Front Bench spokesman.

The quality of the "facts" in the pamphlet can be judged from extracts:

*Q. What about this business of inspection and control? Isn't it just delaying action on disarmament? We've been at it for years and all we have got is the arms race, which always leads to war.*

**'Quite untrue'**

*A. That is quite untrue. I know of no war in history caused by an arms race. What does lead to war is when one side arms and the other does not.*

Among other answers in the pamphlet is one explaining why Christians should be in favour of H-bombs. This is the only policy, says the pamphlet, which can protect "the spiritual values upheld by all the churches in the world." Any other policy would not result in "God's will."

On accidents the dialogue is equally revealing:

*Q. Might not these weapons be let off by accident—someone making a mistake—being too quick on the trigger? I hear we would only get a few minutes' warning of a missile attack.*

*A. It is conceivable, though unlikely. Anyway, surely that would happen only in*

## 'STAY AT HOME!'

"WE call upon all organisations and the trade union movement to organise acts of solidarity for the people of South Africa on May 31, the day on which their country ceases to be a member of the Commonwealth," says a statement issued last week from the London office of the South Africa United Front.

In South Africa, the editorial board of *Contact*, the inter-racial fortnightly, call for full support for a nation-wide peaceful "stay-at-home" demonstration being organ-